



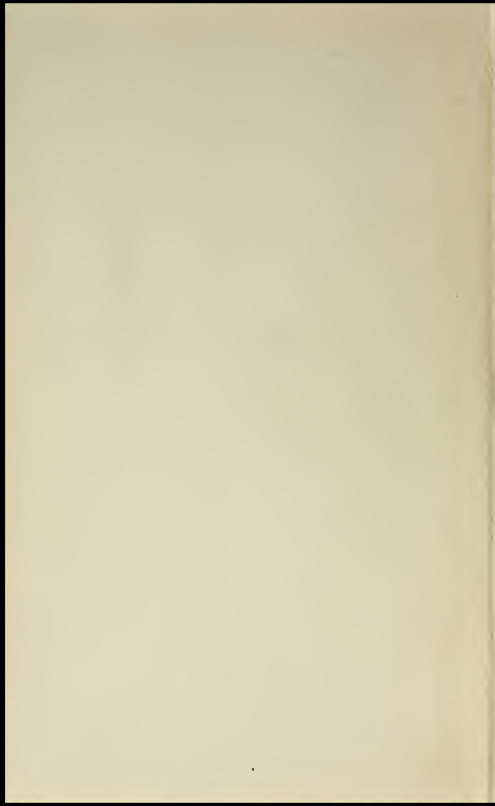
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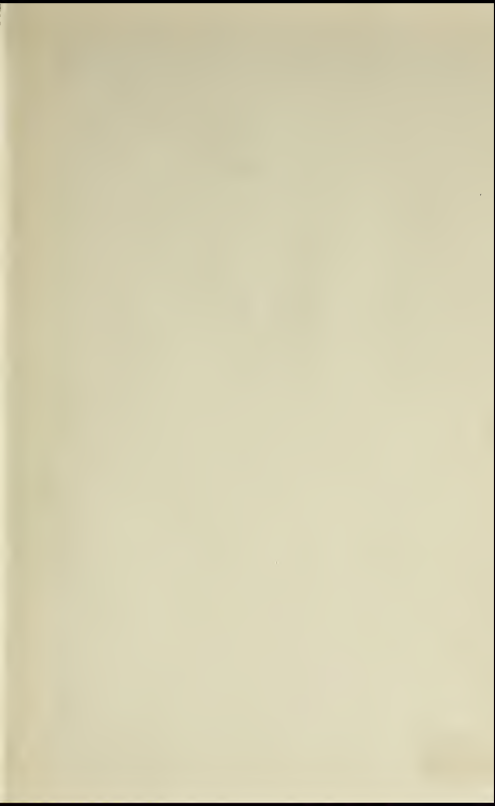
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ANNUAL REPORT

OF

Brigadier-General George Crook,

U. S. ARMY.

COMMANDING

DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA.

1883.



HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA,
WHIPPLE BARRACKS, PRESCOTT, *September 27, 1883.*

To the

*Adjutant General,
Military Division of the Pacific.*

SIR:

In compliance with orders from Headquarters of the Army, I assumed command of this Department September 4, 1882.

Appreciating the necessity for personally examining into the condition of the Apaches I left my Headquarters on the 11th of September and proceeded to the Reservation; I had conferences with both those who were openly in hostility, and those who had not yet broken from the Reservation.

When I first met the Indians I found them sullen and distrustful, and it was with much difficulty that I got them to talk, but after breaking down their suspicions they conversed freely with me.

I had councils with them in the Mogollon, near Fort Apache, in the Cañon of Black River, in the Natanes Mountains and at the San Carlos Agency—records of which were forwarded; I had also numberless private interviews with individual Indians, representative men of the different bands, in which they expressed themselves without reserve.

It should be remembered that in council, when statements are to be put on paper, Indians are much more guarded, timid and apprehensive, than when talking privately.

I discovered immediately that a general feeling of distrust of our people existed among all the bands of the Apaches. They told me that so contradictory were the utterances of the different officers of the Government, that they had lost confidence in everybody, and did not know whom or what to believe; that they were constantly told, by irresponsible parties, that they were to be disarmed, that they were to be attacked by troops on the Reservation, and removed from their country; and that they were fast arriving at the conclusion that it would be more manly to die fighting than to be thus destroyed.

The simple story of their wrongs, as told by various representatives of their bands, under circumstances which convinced me they were speaking the truth, satisfied me that the Apaches had

not only the best of reasons for complaining, but had displayed remarkable forbearance in remaining at peace. They had been openly plundered of the supplies provided for them by our Government, and they spoke with bitterness of nearly every one of their Agents.

Being personally acquainted with almost all of the Apaches, I was fortunate enough to make them see that the war to the death, which they admitted having in contemplation, would no doubt cost the Government many lives, and much money for its suppression, but for all that, it would finally result in wiping off the face of the earth, the whole Apache race.

A comparatively few years ago, when these Indians were in the ascendancy in this country, I could not have convinced them of our strength; certain tribes have upon several occasions made war upon us, thinking if they could destroy the Whites in their country, that would be the end of us, but now, since they have come to realize our strength, the constant thought of many of them is how to protect themselves against absolute annihilation.

Having by my manner and intercourse with them regained the confidence, which these Indians certainly had in me ten years ago, I took measures to insure peace and good conduct on the part of the different bands which were still on the Reservation; I explained to them, that there was a large element in Arizona which was constantly accusing them of crimes and disorders, that this class of men desired nothing so much as to drive them into war, in order to get their Reservation away from them; that to protect them, I must be able to know myself, and to prove to others that they were not guilty as charged, and to this end should re-establish the police regulations, which I inaugurated ten years before; that I must know everything that occurred on the Reservation, and where every Indian was all the time.

I therefore directed that every male Indian, able to bear arms, should constantly wear a metal tag, inscribed with his number and the letter indicating his band; that an accurate census should be taken, that every male Indian should be enrolled, and a complete description corresponding with his tag, entered thereon; and that frequent roll-calls should be had when necessary. I discharged the scouts as their terms of service expired, enlisted others, re-organized the companies, and placed them under charge of Captain EMMET CRAWFORD, Third Cavalry, and Lieutenant CHARLES B. GATEWOOD, Sixth Cavalry, with orders to

report directly to me. The scouts, when not needed for active service, were to be scattered among the bands to which they belonged, and were required to keep their officers constantly informed with reference to the feelings and actions of the Indians of their respective bands.

So complete has been the success of this system, that I am confident it would be impossible for an Indian to leave the Reservation, or to commit any outrage or depredation, without my being informed of the fact very soon afterwards.

At the same time I issued a General Order, giving special directions with reference to the management of the Indians, and I re-published, for the information and guidance of my command, General Orders No. 13, of 1873. (Copies are attached to and made a part of this report. Appendix A and B.)

In these various measures, it is but just to state that I had the hearty co-operation of Agent WILCOX.

I tender to Honorable J. A. ZABRISKIE, U. S. District Attorney, and Honorable Z. L. TIDBALL, U. S. Marshal, for Arizona, my thanks for the valuable assistance rendered me, and without which my work would have been much more difficult.

The Chiricahuas were the only band of the Apaches I was unable to meet; they had not returned from Mexico, to depredate on our side of the border, since leaving the White Mountain Reservation, in the spring of 1882, but from information which I gathered on the Reservation, I became fully convinced that their return was merely a question of time, and so expressed myself in a letter to the Division Commander.

Being determined to leave nothing undone that would have a tendency to ensure peace, and tranquility to the border; I left San Carlos the early part of October last, taking with me two staff officers, an interpreter, and a half a dozen Apaches, and went to the extreme south-eastern corner of Arizona, hoping, from that point, to open up communications with the Chiricahuas or at least to learn the drift of their intentions; in this plan I was not successful, owing to various causes beyond my control. I was however strengthened in the opinion I had already formed, that Chiricahua depredations might be looked for at any time.

To be prepared, so far as was possible, for such raids, I hurried forward the re-organization of the pack-trains of the Department, which I had begun immediately upon assuming command; broke up the small stations at Hentig, Morenci, York's Ranch

and Camp Price; and ordered the garrisons to more central points, where they would be more immediately available for instant service.

I ordered Captain CRAWFORD, Third Cavalry, with a body of Apache Scouts, to take station in the vicinity of Cloverdale, New Mexico, and thence patrol the Boundary westward. Captain CRAWFORD's spies penetrated into Mexico, below Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, without finding a trace of the renegades, who had abandoned their former haunts and retired deeper into the Sierra Madre.

Having returned to San Carlos; on the 2nd of November I again called together all representative men of the different bands and explained to them my views and intentions with reference to them. (See memorandum of Council Appendix C.)

From the date of my arrival in this Territory until the latter part of March, there was not a single outrage or depredation committed, on Arizona soil, either by reservation Indians or renegades.

Sometime early in March a body of Chiricahuas left their stronghold in the Sierra Madre, and dividing, one party under *Jeronimo*, numbering about fifty, raided into Sonora, for the purpose of getting stock; the other party under *Chato*, were to raid in Arizona, for the especial purpose of obtaining ammunition.

Chato's party, twenty-six in number, crossed the Boundary near the Huachuca Mountains, on the 21st of March, and struck a charcoal camp twelve miles south-west of Fort Huachuca at sunset the same evening, killing four white men, with the loss of one of their number, whose body was found on the field. The raiders, the next afternoon, killed three men near the Total Wreck Mine, situated in the foot-hills on the west side of the Whetstone Mountains, in the vicinity of the Empire Ranch; and the same night crossed the San Pedro River, and the S. P. R. R., near Benson. On the 23rd two men were killed at Point of Mountain, near the south end of the Galiuro Range. From this point the route of the raiders is uncertain, they having scattered in small parties.

Their trails led across the Pinaleno Range, the northern extension of the Chiricahuas, into the San Simon Valley, and thence by way of the Peloncillo Mountains, to the Gila Valley, near Ash Springs, and crossed into New Mexico not later than March 27th. On the Morning of March 28th, Judge McCOMAS

and wife were killed, on the stage road between Silver City and Lordsburg.

Chato's party were in Arizona not longer than six days, and during this time traveled nearly four hundred miles.

So far as I have any authentic information, nine white men were killed by them in this Territory, and probably two others near York's Ranch, on the Gila.

Such was the rapidity of their march, that not only was effective pursuit impossible, but the Indians were unsuccessful in the object of their raid, and left Arizona with very little more ammunition than they had when they crossed the Boundary.

On the 27th of March one of their number, *Pe-nal-tishn*, deserted, in the mountains east of Pueblo Viejo, and made his way to San Carlos Agency, where he was arrested, on the night of March 31st, by Lieutenant BRITTON DAVIS, Third Cavalry. This Indian acted as our guide in our trip to the Sierra Madre.

Troops started at once in pursuit as soon as the presence of this raiding party was known, but appreciating the difficulties which would probably prevent successful pursuit, I put troops in position hoping to intercept them on their return to Mexico.

Telegraphic instructions were sent to the Commanding Officer at Fort Bowie to send parties to thoroughly scout the Chiricahua Mountains, and to watch the San Simon and Sulphur Springs Valleys; from Thomas two companies were ordered to Nogales; from Grant two companies were sent to White River; Lieutenant GATEWOOD's scouts were directed to Huachuca. The Commanding Officer at Fort Huachuca was directed to keep the country between the Dragoon and Huachuca Mountains constantly scouted; Captain CRAWFORD at Cloverdale was notified of these dispositions, and directed to put his scouts in position to intercept the raiders, should they return by way of the Stein's Peak Range, or, if otherwise, to look out for their return through the Los Animas Plains; Lieutenant DAVIS at San Carlos was directed to take all possible precautions, in the event that the raiders attempted to come on the Reservation; the Commanding Officer of Fort McDowell was ordered to move with all his Cavalry to Willcox, and four troops of Cavalry from Fort Apache were directed to the same point.

On the evening of the 31st of March, instructions from the General of the Army were received (copy attached, Appendix

D.) authorizing me to pursue the hostile Apaches, regardless of Departmental or National lines; and having arranged for an interview with General MACKENZIE at Albuquerque, I left my Headquarters on the 2nd of April, for Willecox.

It may be proper to add here, that in spite of the above dispositions, and the most energetic and vigilant action on the part of officers and men, such are the difficulties to be met in the pursuit of a raiding party, through such a region as south-eastern Arizona, that not an Indian was seen by any of the various parties at different times on their trail; nor were we able to intercept them on their return, their line of retreat being through the Mountains to the eastward, of the Los Animas Valley, in New Mexico.

As soon as I arrived at Willecox, I began my preparations for operations against the renegade Indians.

In furtherance of my plans, I visited the States of Sonora and Chihuahua, to meet and consult with the Mexican Officials, civic and military, and arrange if possible, for a harmonious understanding of the questions involved, and for mutual co-operation in movements against the hostiles.

The reception extended to me at all points was of the kindest and most hospitable character; and I desire here to express my appreciation for courteous and personal attentions, from Generals CARBO and TOPETE, and their staffs, and from Governor TORRES, and other prominent Officials, in Sonora; from Governor SAMANIEGO of the State of Chihuahua, from General REGUERRA in command of the Mexican troops in that State, and Mayor ZUBRIAN, and other gentlemen of the City of Chihuahua. These gentlemen received me most cordially, and gave assurance that they would in every possible way aid in the settlement of the pending indian difficulties.

U. S. Consuls, WILLARD at Guaymas, and SCOTT at Chihuahua, rendered me valuable assistance, for which I acknowledge my obligations.

The subsequent movement into the Sierra Madre, and its results, have been fully reported to the Division Commander. (See copy of my report attached, Appendix E.)

Upon my return from Mexico with the Chiricahua prisoners, the disposition of them became a matter of controversy between the Interior and War Departments. Pending the settlement of this question I was ordered to Washington for consultation.

After a full discussion of the various phases of the matter, an agreement was made between the two Departments under which the entire police control of the White Mountain Reservation was vested in the War Department. (Copy of memorandum of agreement is attached, Appendix F.) In compliance with instructions from the Secretary of War, I issued a general order (Copy attached, Appendix G) placing under charge of Captain CRAWFORD, Third Cavalry, the police control of the Reservation, and the care and maintenance of all Indian prisoners.

These orders to Captain CRAWFORD were in effect merely a reiteration of directions which I had found it necessary to issue the previous autumn, when a thorough examination of the status of the Indians on the White Mountain Reservation convinced me that the safety of the Territory, and the welfare of the Indians, required that I should assume the police control of the Reservation and which I virtually did.

(I append notes of the Conference with the Apaches at San Carlos, October 15, 1882.—Appendix H.)

It appears proper at this point to state, that in all the conferences with the Apache Indians, one great ground for dissatisfaction among them was that they were huddled together around the Agency where many of their people were sick and where many had already died from disease, and where for lack of suitable ground for cultivation they could not raise crops. They assured me in terms which satisfied me of their honesty of purpose, that if they were allowed to choose lands for themselves in different parts of the reservation, they would immediately go to work, plant and raise crops, and would soon become self-sustaining. Their Agent Mr. Wilcox told me in effect that their complaint was just, and that the orders of the Indian Department required him to keep the Indians at the Agency, but if I would take the whole responsibility of settling the Indians on other locations within the Reservation, he would make no objection. I accordingly allowed the different bands of Apaches to settle on lands of their own choice within the Reservation limits, and gave careful instructions to Captain CRAWFORD to supervise their movements and the allotment of planting grounds, to give them all possible advice and assistance, and to use his scouts in such manner as would be most advantageous in carrying out the end in view, that is that these Indians should become as soon as possible self-sustaining.

The result of this action has perhaps been even greater than I anticipated; large crops of barley have already been harvested and sold, and the corn crop now maturing is by all odds the largest ever raised on the Reservation, as are also, the other grain and vegetable crops. It appears that one hundred and seventy-nine families which were thus transferred from the pestilential regions about San Carlos have raised on their new locations on Cañon, Cibicu and Carrizo Creeks, near Fort Apache, sufficient crops to sustain themselves. Their crops would have been larger, except for the difficulty in obtaining seed in suitable quantity in time for planting. This difficulty will be obviated in the future by the foresight of Captain CRAWFORD in providing a room for storing seed for the next year's crops.

(I attach Captain CRAWFORD's report.—Appendix I.)

There are certain points which arise at once in all dealings with the Indians, and one of the most difficult for them to understand is the distinction between the Government, that is the supreme authority, and the individual or agent representing this authority. They recognize at once the power which is sufficient to control and punish or protect them, and respect the individual holding this power—but the abstract idea that this man merely represents the Government, and that his promises, or actions or recommendations are liable to be disallowed by higher authority, they cannot understand. To explain—although I endeavored to impress upon the Chiricahuas that I could make them no promises on the part of the Government, and in fact did make none, it was impossible to make them understand that the Government might do otherwise than as I requested. They knew me and had confidence in my intentions, and further than this they neither understood nor cared. They were convinced that I had the power to carry out whatever I might undertake, and therefore wanted to make peace with our people. Their understanding of the whole matter was, that they would be permitted to go upon the White Mountain Reservation and live under the same conditions as the rest of the Indians, and that they would be protected so long as they behaved themselves. The course pursued with the Chiricahuas was the only one possible under the circumstances. Only a few years ago, when there were few interests to be looked after, except such as pertained to the Government, the personal prejudice of the individ-

ual was a large element in the settlement of Indian difficulties. It made little difference whether this personal feeling was right or wrong, so far as results were concerned. We then had a frontier, and in Indian wars few suffered except the troops engaged. Now all this has changed, we really have no frontier; and an immense amount of capital is invested, and cattle raisers, prospectors and farmers swarm, where comparatively a few years ago the foot of white men never trod. The new interests now to be considered are legion, and all must be protected. Nor are the inhabitants of this Territory alone interested. People living in all parts of the United States are represented by numerous investments in the different industries, and all demand, with justice, that this Indian question shall be settled on such a basis as shall afford the greatest security to life and property.

In the settlement of this question, leaving out entirely the moral aspect, there are simply two methods; either the Indians must be exterminated, or they must be treated with justice. From my experience of late years, I can state unhesitatingly, that since the Indians have learned the strength and power of our people, in almost every Indian war which I have known anything about, the prime cause therefor has been, either the failure of our Government to make good its pledges, or the wrongs perpetrated upon them by unscrupulous whites. This condition of affairs can no longer continue. The Indian has now sufficient knowledge of the needs of the country to force us to deal justly with him, and if he is not so dealt with he will go upon the war-path.

That Indians are often robbed of their rations and of the goods provided by Government for their subsistence and support, by rascally agents and other unscrupulous white men, is a fact within the knowledge of every one having relations with them. These are the men who are responsible for this unsettled state of affairs.

Public sentiment in frontier communities does not consider the malicious killing of an Indian, murder, nor the most unblushing plundering, theft; and a community which will hang a horse thief to the nearest tree will submit to the plundering of Indians, and to the entire ignoring of their rights, even when they know that this course will bring on an outbreak with all its attendant horrors. In this way it happens that whole communities are made to suffer by the cupidity of a few persons. Individuals should not be

too severely blamed for their quiescence under such circumstances, for though they know of the injustice practiced, they are as a rule powerless to prevent the wrong.

It is too often the case that border newspapers are the organs of the thieves, and disseminate all sorts of exaggerations and falsehood about the Indians, which are copied in papers of high character and wide circulation, in other parts of the country, while the Indian's side of the case is rarely ever heard. In this way the people at large get false ideas with reference to the matter. Then when the outbreak does come, public attention is turned to the Indians, their crimes and atrocities are alone condemned, while the persons whose injustice has driven them to this course escape scot-free and are the loudest in their denunciations. No one knows this fact better than the Indian, therefore he is excusable in seeing no justice in a government which only punishes him, while it allows the white man to plunder him as he pleases.

I have no knowledge of a case on record where a white man has been convicted and punished for defrauding an Indian.

I am not an apologist for the Chiricahuas—They are bad Indians, probably the very worst on the continent. They have suffered least of any from the cupidity of white men, and are therefore less excusable for their deeds of outrage than any other band. They certainly deserve the most exemplary punishment. These Indians are all equally culpable, but any attempt to punish one or half a dozen of them for past crimes would unquestionably drive them upon the war-path. In the autumn of 1873, I had whipped all the other bands of Apaches into submission, and driven them upon reservations, and was prepared to take the same course with the Chiricahuas, under conditions that assured success, but at the moment I was entering on the campaign, I was stopped by a negotiation with their Chief, *Cochise*. A so-called treaty was made, the terms of which I have never been able to find out; this much I do know, that the Chiricahuas were given a reservation on the confines of Mexico, and that the Indians understood, that in consideration of sparing this Territory, their raids into Mexico would not be interfered with by our Government. The Indian though ignorant is not innocent, and in all matters of this sort is excessively shrewd. No one knew better than he that the conditions of the so-called treaty as under-

stood by him, were entirely in his favor, and he was quick to take advantage of the wrong position in which the Government was placed. The results are too well known to need reiteration. It is now too late to punish them for past atrocities in which this transaction makes us equally guilty, without sacrificing the interests of the present.

There are perhaps less than one hundred and fifty Chiricahua warriors; to fight them now would be to endanger the life of every stock man and prospector within striking distance of their mountains, and would ruin many important interests in this Territory.

The invention of breech loading guns and metallic cartridges has changed the entire nature of Indian warfare. The Indians are now no longer our inferiors in equipment; their weapons of even ten years ago have given place to breech loading arms of the best makers. An Indian in his mode of warfare is more than the equal of the white man, and it would be practically impossible with white soldiers to subdue the Chiricahuas in their own haunts. The country they inhabit is larger than New England, and the roughest on the continent, and though affording no food upon which soldiers can subsist, provides the Indian with everything necessary for sustaining his life indefinitely. The agave grows luxuriantly in all their mountains, and upon this plant alone the Indians can live. They have no property which they can not carry with them in their most rapid marches, nor settled habitations of any kind, but roam about like coyotes, and their temporary resting places are chosen with all the experience gained by generations of warfare. The Indian knows every foot of his territory; can endure fatigue and fasting, and can live without food or water for periods that would kill the hardest mountaineer. In fighting them we must of necessity be the pursuers, and unless surprised by sudden and unexpected attack, the advantages are all in their favor. It should be remembered that in Indian combats you rarely see an Indian, you see the puff of smoke and hear the whiz of his bullets, but the Indian is thoroughly hidden. The soldier on the contrary must expose himself, since he is the attacking party. In operating against them the only hope of success lies in using their own methods, and their own people with a mixed command. The first great difficulty to be met is to locate them, and this must be done by Indian scouts, then we must

move against them in such manner that the Indians may not discover our movements. The marches must be by stealth, and at night. Indian scouts must be kept sufficiently in advance of the troops to be able to discover the enemy without being seen themselves, and to this end they must be scattered in front and on the flanks. They must leave absolutely no trail, but must travel over rocks, and keep constantly under cover. The enemy discovered, runners are sent back to the command, which must make forced night marches, so as to attack by surprise; the scouts meantime if possible surround the hostile camp, and keeping constantly concealed should be able to give all possible information with reference to the situation of the camp, number of Indians, and in fact everything which it is desirable the commanding officer should know. The Indian's eyes are as keen as the eagle's, and his natural instincts developed to the highest degree. The unusual movement of a bush, the falling of a rock, the glint of the sun from the weapons of the scouts, will immediately send them scudding like a bevy of frightened quail. The surprise over, the Indians who escape are secure; pursuit is impossible in a country where every rock may hide a fugitive enemy, from behind which with the present improved weapons in his hands, he can kill at will without exposing himself. Nothing can be done except to return to your base, wait until matters have quieted down, and then repeat the operation. The above shows the necessities in successful operations; a single condition absent, or a precaution neglected, and failure is certain. Your presence in their haunts known, the Indians send their families beyond reach of danger, and the bucks without impedimenta, swarm about your column, avoid or attack as their interests dictate, dispute every foot of your advance, harass your rear, and surround you on all sides. Under such conditions regular troops are as helpless as a whale attacked by a school of sword-fish. The tendency of military drill and discipline is to make the individual soldier a machine, dependent upon the officer in command for its movement and action, and upon cohesion with its fellow machines for its efficiency. His individuality is completely lost in his organization, and he therefore cannot compete on equal terms with an enemy whose individuality under all circumstances is perfect.

With all the interests at stake we cannot afford to fight them; we are too culpable, as a nation, for the existing condition of affairs. It follows that we must satisfy them that hereafter they

shall be treated with justice, and protected from the inroads of white men.

The reservation system offers at present the easiest way to this end. Settle the Indians on reservations, and teach them what they do not know of the methods of agriculture, stimulate them to industry by providing a market for their crops, supply them with such food as is necessary for their subsistence until they learn how to live in the new way, and to become self-supporting.

The reasoning power of the Indian from his own standpoint is unequalled. The wild Indian just brought on a reservation must understand that the person in charge of him is absolute, and that he has the power to enforce obedience to all his commands. He yields readily when he has confidence and respect for the individual exercising control, but without this it is an impossibility to satisfactorily manage him. He knows now how great is the power of the Government, and if treated with common justice, will become tractable, obedient and easily managed, but he can not be governed or protected by the same methods that have proved so successful in the management of the freedmen of the south. Unlike the Negro the Indian cannot speak our language, has never been domesticated among us, and is consequently ignorant of our manner of life. Therefore Indians must be segregated, until they learn the way of the whites, and until mutual interests spring up between them.

Recently it has been the general wish of all the tribes among whom I have been, to own their land in severalty. There is among them a constant feeling of insecurity; they have so often been legislated or tricked out of their reservations, that they fear the same thing may again occur should their land be coveted by white settlers. As showing the strength of this desire to own his own land individually, I have been reliably informed that *Pedro*, the Chief of the White Mountain Apaches, has tendered taxes on the land he occupies, thinking that in some way, a tax receipt might give him some title in law.

Contrary to what may be the general impression, there is no people who has stronger affection for children than the Indians, and the thought that troubles the Indian most is what is to become of his family when he dies. The main reason for the tribal relation of Indians is that their families may be cared for and protected by the band to which they belong after they are dead. Give the Indian a patent for his land, under such conditions

preventing alienation as may be deemed advisable, and let him feel that it is his own, and cannot be taken from him. He then becomes not only conservative, for he has property to lose by misconduct, but, when he surrounds himself with pigs and cows, etc., he finds that he has all he wants to live upon. He then realizes that he is independent, and that his family is provided for in the event of his death, and there is no further need of the tribal organization. It will then in my judgment disappear, and not until then.

So soon as the Indian gets his land in severalty he should have the ballot. Nothing can be of greater value in the settlement of the indian question than a community of interests between the Indian and the white settler in his vicinity, and in no other way can this be so easily brought about as by making the Indian politically the white man's equal. He is certainly the equal mentally, of a large class who now have the franchise, and with the right to vote, he would soon find that the white communities living nearest him would take an interest in his concerns. No people or race can live in our country deprived of full political powers without becoming more and more degraded. Nor can such a people be long imposed upon or mistreated with the right to vote allowed them.

The disarming of Indians is very generally believed to be the first step in solving the Indian problem, and it is often insisted on as the one condition precedent to placing them on reservations. In my judgment this is an error. In the first place it is impossible to disarm Indians. Individuals may be taken in certain instances at such disadvantage as to make it possible to get their arms, but with whole bands or tribes this is hardly possible. I knew that the Chiricahuas had an abundance of the best arms, and yet when they came into our camp, thinking very likely that I would demand the surrender of their arms, many of them were armed only with lances, and others with very indifferent guns, which would have been given up had I demanded them. The result would have been, they would have considered that we were afraid of them, their arms would have still been in their possession, and we would have lost their confidence, which can only be secured by showing them that at their best we have no fear of them but are able under all circumstances to punish or control them. Neither is it possible to prevent Indians from obtaining arms and ammunition; in this country money will buy anything. One strong incentive for Indians to go upon the war-

path, is to obtain munitions of war, or the means to purchase them. As I have already stated, this was the main reason for *Chato's* raid into Arizona. There is another reason; the Indian knows better than any one else, how necessary arms are for his protection. He has discovered that the Government does not prevent the disreputable class of white men with which he is surrounded from committing depredations upon his reservation, or punish them for their acts. He concludes that he must protect himself.

Deprive the Apache Indians of their arms, and in a short time there would not be a hoof of stock on the reservation.

During the excitement following the Indian raid last spring, threats were openly made, and an unauthorized organization was formed with the avowed purpose of attacking the San Carlos Indians. This company of "rangers" as they called themselves, while en route to San Carlos passed within sight of my Camp at Wilcox; I informed the Indians on the reservation that if attacked, they would be expected to defend themselves. The rangers marched nearly to San Carlos, did *not* attack the Indians, and then marched back again to Tombstone.

Had these Indians been unarmed, and the attack been made, the result would not only have been a foul disgrace to our Government, but a blot on humanity.

The location of Reservations is another serious matter in the consideration of this question. Since the return of the Chiricahuas, there has been a clamor from a portion of the press for the removal of the Apaches from this Territory. The glibness with which people generally speak of moving them would indicate that all we have to do is to take them from their camps, as you would chickens from a roost, without reflecting that to attempt their removal would bring on the bloodiest Indian war this country has ever experienced,—besides this, where shall they be located? No other state or territory wants these Indians. The mere mention of it to the Apache Indians would create a feeling of insecurity among them which would tax to the utmost every means in our power to quiet.

I have several times within the past year found it my duty to call the attention of the Department to the condition of the Hualpai Indians. They have for ten years past been friendly and are utterly without means of support. Their reservation is not suitable for cultivation except under conditions beyond their

power to produce, and they are consequently compelled to live upon such spontaneous growth as their country affords, and upon a rapidly diminishing supply of game. These Indians are in a starving condition—during the past winter they have suffered severely from the ravages of small-pox. In their efforts to secure food, there has been great danger of infecting the whole country with the dread disease. This danger however is happily now passed, as they have recently been vaccinated under directions of the Indian Department, but they are still in as great straits as ever for want of food. I urgently recommend that some permanent provision be made for them. In this connection I cannot refrain from calling your attention to the obvious injustice of feeding and caring for the powerful and semi-hostile tribes, while friendly and peaceable Indians like the Hualpais are allowed to actually starve for lack of the pittance necessary to sustain life.

Indians frequently remark on this policy, and say it is better for them to be on the war-path. In this way we are constantly offering inducements for them to misbehave, in order that their good will may afterwards be purchased by presents or supplies.

I append the reports of the Chiefs of the Staff Departments, as follows :

Acting Assistant Inspector General Major A. K. ARNOLD,
Sixth Cavalry,

Chief Quartermaster Major A. J. MCGONNIGLE,

Chief Commissary Captain CHAS. P. EAGAN,

Medical Director Major B. J. D. IRWIN,

Chief Paymaster Major P. P. G. HALL, and

First Lieutenant G. J. FIEBEGER, Engineer Officer, marked K, L, M, N, O and P, respectively; and to which your attention is respectfully invited for information with reference to the administration and work of their Departments.

The instruction of the Command in all that tends to increase efficiency of the troops in accuracy of rifle firing has received careful attention, and I take pleasure in reporting that the increase in proficiency during the past year has been marked. Officers and men have taken increased interest in this matter, and the improvement which has followed is a source of gratification to me. There are up to this date, one hundred and seventy-eight qualified marksmen in the Department; last year the number qualifying was fifty-three, in which number were included nineteen marksmen belonging to companies of the Eighth and

Twelfth Infantry, which organizations have since left the Department.

I respectfully call attention to the remarks of the Inspector General of the Department, with reference to the class of horses purchased for the cavalry service, in which in the main I concur. After a careful examination into this matter, I have come to the conclusion, 1st,—that all horses and mules for the army should be purchased in one locality, 2nd,—that all horses and mules should be inspected by the same persons. Kansas City, Mo., probably offers at present better facilities as a purchasing point than any other place in the United States. At all events the mere fact that a certain point has been selected at which animals are to be purchased would at once attract sellers for a market. Mr. WILLIAM CHAMBERS, now Inspector of Horses and Mules for the Military Division of the Missouri, is in my judgment one of the best horse experts in the country, and rarely fails to detect blemishes or defects. Colonel WILLIAM B. ROYALL, Fourth Cavalry, as a judge of general aptitude for cavalry service is without a superior in the army. The horses and mules purchased should be sent to some depot contiguous, and from thence distributed to the army as needed. I am confident that by the adoption of this plan or a similar one, the class of animals furnished the Government would be improved, and the cost be materially lessened.

There are insufficient Barracks and Officers Quarters at some of the posts in this command, notably at Forts Apache, Grant and Huachuca.

All that was possible with the funds and material at hand during the last fiscal year was done to improve the condition of the different posts, and it is hoped that the judicious expenditure of funds available for the coming year will supply the posts in the Department with sufficient barrack accommodations for their garrisons, with the exception of Apache and Grant, for which posts additional appropriations will be urgently needed.

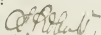
I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

GEORGE CROOK,

*Brigadier General, U. S. A.,
Commanding.*

OFFICIAL COPY:



*Captain Seventeenth Infantry,
Acting Aide-de-Camp.*

APPENDIX—"A."

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA,

WHIFFLE BARRACKS, PRESCOTT, A. T., *October 5, 1882.*GENERAL ORDERS }
No. 43.

The Commanding General, after making a thorough and exhaustive examination among the Indians of the eastern and southern part of this Territory, regrets to say that he finds among them a general feeling of distrust, and want of confidence in the whites—especially the soldiery; and also that much dissatisfaction, dangerous to the peace of the country, exists among them.

Officers and soldiers serving in this Department are reminded that one of the fundamental principles of the military character is, justice to all—Indians as well as white men—and that a disregard of this principle is likely to bring about hostilities, and cause the death of the very persons whom they are sent here to protect.

In all their dealings with the Indians officers must be careful not only to observe the strictest fidelity, but to make no promises not in their power to carry out; all grievances, arising within their jurisdiction, should be redressed, so that an accumulation of them may not cause an outbreak. Grievances, however petty, if permitted to accumulate, will be like embers that smoulder and eventually break into flame.

When officers are applied to for the employment of force against Indians, they should thoroughly satisfy themselves of the necessity for the application, and of the legality of compliance therewith, in order that they may not, through the inexperience of others, or through their own hastiness, allow the troops under them to become the instruments of oppression.

There must be no division of responsibility in this matter; each officer will be held to a strict accountability that his actions have been fully authorized by law and justice, and that Indians evincing a desire to enter upon a career of peace shall have no cause for complaint through hasty or injudicious acts of the military.

BY ORDER OF BRIGADIER GENERAL CROOK:

[Signed.] J. P. MARTIN,

Assistant Adjutant General.

APPENDIX—"B."

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA,
WHIPPLE BARRACKS, PRESCOTT, *October 6, 1882.*

GENERAL ORDERS }
No. 44. }

The following orders are re-published for the information and guidance of this command:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA,
PRESCOTT, *April 8, 1873.*

GENERAL ORDERS }
No. 13. }

The following memorandum of instructions is hereby published for the guidance of officers commanding troops stationed on the several Indian Reservations in this Department :

I. With a view to bringing the straggling bands and families still at large upon the reservations, and to serve as nucleus for the establishment of civil government, a small number of the Indians recently used as scouts will be retained in service under existing laws, at each of the reservations hereafter specified.

Each of these detachments will be under the command of an officer, designated by the Department Commander, who will have charge, under the supervision of the commanding officer of the post, of their clothing and accounts; but the post commander may communicate with them direct, at any and all times.

These Indians will be selected from among the best of their several tribes, and will be liable to be mustered out for misconduct towards the Indians of their own or other tribes, or other good cause, and their places filled by others duly selected. They will constitute the police force of the reservations, and while required to attend regular musters and inspections, will not only be allowed, but will be required to cultivate the soil and perform the various industries prescribed by the Indian Department, the same as other Indians.

They will be used, from time to time, upon the application of the agent, or the commanding officers' own motion, to preserve the peace, report and correct any irregularities that may occur among their own or other tribes in the vicinity.

II. Commanding officers will aid the duly authorized agents in instructing the Indians in, and establishing among them civil

government in its simplest form, enabling them to settle their differences according to the usages of civilization, gradually showing them its benefit as contrasted with their own barbarous forms and customs.

To do this effectually will require different forms to suit the peculiarities of different tribes, and the agents of the several reservations are requested to meet the officers commanding the military on their respective reservations and agree upon the necessary forms, being careful not to make them too complicated at first for the comprehension of the tribes to which they are to be applied, leaving them to be enlarged with their capabilities, so that when the auxiliary force can be dispensed with, they will be capable of self-government and eventually become good citizens.

While they should not be judged harshly for acts which in civil codes would constitute minor offences, care should also be taken that they do not succeed in deceiving their agents and the officers, in matters of greater import, being careful to treat them as children in *ignorance*, not in *innocence*.

Perfect harmony between the officers of the Indian and War Departments, on duty together, is absolutely necessary in treating Indians so lately hostile and so apparently incorrigible, and the Department Commander earnestly enjoins this harmony, and directs that in case of difference in matters where the line is not plainly marked, that officers carefully avoid such difference being made known to the Indians, and that they refrain from any overt act in the matter at issue, until instructions from these Headquarters shall have been received.

BY COMMAND OF BREVET MAJOR GENERAL CROOK :

[Signed.] A. H. NICKERSON,
Captain twenty-third Infantry,
A. D. C., and A. A. A. G.

BY ORDER OF BRIGADIER GENERAL CROOK :

[Signed.] J. P. MARTIN,
Assistant Adjutant General.

APPENDIX—"C."

Memorandum of a Council at San Carlos, A. T., November 2, 1882, between General Crook and the Indians on the White Mountain Reservation.

GENERAL CROOK said :—

"I have now been among you two months studying your wants and condition. I am astonished to find how little progress any of you have made towards civilization and self-sustenance, while the majority of you are not as well off as you were when I left you eight years ago. As an examination into the cause of all this degeneracy cannot rectify the faults of the past, you must content yourselves with the determination that the future shall be better.

You are fortunate now in having a good Agent, one who gives you all you are entitled to; but he may leave, and you get in his stead a man like his predecessor, of whom you complain so bitterly. In the future, these troops will not serve as a guard while you are being robbed and oppressed; but you must as much as possible protect your own rights.

Your Agent has become satisfied that you cannot become self-sustaining while kept in this place. Therefore we have concluded to allow you to select within the limits of your Reservation, suitable localities where you can make your future homes. In thus allowing you to scatter, the head-men of the respective bands will be held responsible for the behavior of their people. In this you will be assisted by the enlistment of some of you as soldiers, who will reside habitually among their people. The enlistment of these men will be made with especial regard to their influence with their own people, character, and aptitude for learning the new duties expected of them, in order that they may then better assist in leading their people towards self-government. I intend to stop counting you now, because you have shown such a good disposition, have come in promptly, and I have confidence in your ability to control your own people.

When a band shows its inability to control itself, it will be brought in where we can do the controlling for it. If any of the bands become unmanageable, the other bands must join in and settle them, and as much as possible all must work in harmony for the common advancement. I will only bring in the white soldiers when I find you cannot be controlled by your own people. All reports of depredations must be examined into at once, so that the responsibility may fall where it belongs.

One of the conditions of your being allowed to go in this way, is that you must support yourselves after your crops come in in the fall.

Such supplies as you get from the Agent, until that time, you must pack out to your homes yourselves.

The Chiefs will be held responsible that no tizwin is made.

When I was here before I tried to break up this tizwin business, and told you to put all your money in cattle and brood mares; you paid no attention to me, and let all your brains run down in your stomachs. You must keep your checks always about you, so that you can be recognized by anybody who may meet you.

You must put your money and surplus produce in stock.

Your future will depend almost entirely upon your own conduct. You must pay no attention to the counsels of ill-disposed persons; they are not your friends; they simply hope to make something out of you.

When you are in doubt about something and want advice, always come in to your Agent and talk with him.

I have a good deal of confidence in you now, and I want to see by the end of the year which band shall be farthest advanced.

The survey of the Reservation is now going on, and its boundaries will be well defined by next spring.

Within the bounds of this Reservation, there is none of the land which was formerly claimed by the Apache-Mojaves, or Apache-Yumas, and only a little of that formerly occupied by the Apache-Tontos. There is plenty of land on this Reservation for everybody now here, and all the bands must be allowed to select suitable planting places upon it.

We are going to look out for the interest of everybody.

Captain CRAWFORD, at this point, and Lieutenant GATEWOOD, at Apache, will give you all the details. You notice that everything said here has been put down on paper, so that we sha'n't have to depend upon memory.

I want you to remember all this, and not forget it.

A good many men say more than they mean, but you know that I mean at least as much as I say, and sometimes a great deal more.

I have nothing more to say; you will not have to come here to be counted any more.

Perhaps the Agent here may have to say something to you.

Hereafter you will not have to have passes to go anywhere on the Reservation, so long as there is no disturbance.

I have almost forgotten to say that, so long as the Chiricahuas

are out, you cannot expect to have a secure peace; and I may have to call upon you yet to settle that matter."

Mr. Beaumont said :—

"The Agent is absent for a few days; while he is gone I act for him and speak for him. What the General has promised for the Agent, the Agent will do; all that you are entitled to from the Agent you will get; all that is sent from Washington, the Agent will give you.

The Agent will never promise you more than he is able to perform; he will do his duty by you, and you must do your duty by him.

While you are unable to sustain yourselves, the Agent will give you enough to live on; but so soon as you can begin to plant and raise crops, you must do something to assist in your own support. The tools needed for planting, etc., will be furnished by the Agent, and he will expect you to take good care of them, and use them.

The clothing and other annuity goods will be here in about a month; when they come, they will all be distributed equally and fairly among all these Indians. The good Indians on this Reservation will find that they have a good Agent, but the *bad* ones will find that they have one as bad as they can be.

The Agent will work in perfect harmony with General CROOK."

APPENDIX—"D."

[TELEGRAM.]

PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO,

March 31, 1883.

Commanding General,

Department of Arizona,

Whipple Barracks, A. T.

SIR :

Instructions just received from the General of the Army authorize you under existing orders to destroy hostile Apaches, to pursue them regardless of department or national lines, and to proceed to such points as you deem advisable. He adds that General MACKENZIE's forces will co-operate to fullest extent.

BY ORDER OF GENERAL SCHOFIELD :

[Signed.] KELTON,

A. A. G.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA,
WHIPPLE BARRACKS, PRESCOTT, *July 23, 1883.*

To the

Assistant Adjutant General,

Military Division of the Pacific,

Presidio of San Francisco, Cal.

SIR :

I have the honor to report that, upon assuming command of this Department in September last, I made a careful investigation of the Indian question and the results of the inquiry were embodied in letters to the Division Commander.

I was convinced that the return of raiding parties of Chiricahuas might be looked for at any time, and to be prepared for such an irruption I made such disposition of my troops and scouts as would be most likely to prevent extended and general depredations.

On the 21st of March a small party of Chiricahuas under *Chato* crossed the frontier from Mexico and were first seen near Fort Huachuca, and from thence made a circuit through the San Pedro and Gila valleys, returning through New Mexico. Of this raid and its consequences full reports were transmitted at the time.

There was a slight hope that the raiding party might be intercepted on their return, and to this end Captain CRAWFORD and the Apache scouts were ordered to take position from which they could ambuscade the route, should the raiders return by the way of the Stein Peak range, a favorite trail in other years. Captain RAFFERTY, with two companies from Fort Bowie, was directed to San Bernardino; two companies, from Fort Grant under Captain OVERTON, were ordered to White River. The troops at Fort Huachuca were directed to keep the country between the Whetstone and Dragoon Mountains constantly patrolled. Captain VROOM, with two companies from Fort Thomas, was ordered to Nogales to scout in either direction. The Chiricahuas however made their way out through New Mexico, at a point eastward of CRAWFORD's position.

To pursue a raiding party of Apaches in southern Arizona, with any hope of overtaking or destroying them is one of the most hopeless tasks that could be delegated to officers and sol-

diers. The Indians on such occasions travel without *impedimenta* of any kind, and move across the country at the rate of seventy-five miles a day, abandoning and killing their horses as fast as they play out, and helping themselves to remounts at every ranch they pass; while the troops must follow the trail with but one mount.

But while the hostiles were making a trail of blood through Arizona and New Mexico, they were unconsciously sowing the seed for their own destruction. One of their number, *Pe-nal-tishn*, deserted, made his way into the San Carlos Agency, was seized by Lieutenant BRITTON DAVIS, Third Cavalry, and turned over to me at Willcox, where I had proceeded on the 2nd of April.

After a severe examination *Pe-nal-tishn*, generally called by his sobriquet "*Peaches*," agreed to conduct me to the stronghold of the hostiles in the Sierra Madra, on the boundary line between Sonora and Chihuahua. I concluded to trust him and accepted his services. Troops had meanwhile concentrated at Willcox, on the Southern Pacific Railroad, consisting of six companies of the Third and Sixth regiments of Cavalry, under command of Major JAMES BIDDLE, Sixth Cavalry, and Captain WM. E. DOUGHERTY, First Infantry. Lieutenant GATEWOOD, Sixth Cavalry, was also ordered to hurry forward the enlistment and equipment of seventy additional Indian Scouts, at San Carlos Agency, and then join the main command at Willcox.

While these matters were pending, I proceeded by railroad to Guaymas and Hermosillo, Sonora, and to the city of Chihuahua, Chihuahua, to meet and consult with the Mexican officials—civil and military—and arrange, if possible, for a harmonious understanding of the International questions involved, and mutual co-operation.

The reception extended me was of the most hospitable and cordial character; Generals CARBO and TOPETE, and their staff, in Sonora, and Governor TORRES and other prominent functionaries in that State; and Governors SAMANIEGO and TERRASSES, of the State of Chihuahua, and Mayor ZUBRIAN of the city of Chihuahua and other gentlemen received me most cordially and gave assurances that they would in every possible way aid in the subjugation of the Chiricahuas, who had for so many years murdered and plundered their people as well as our own. Consuls WILLARD at Guaymas and SCOTT at Chihuahua rendered me valuable assist-

ance, for which I desire to express most grateful recognition.

To pass over minor details I reached San Bernardino Springs, on the International boundary line, on the 29th of April, and made the following dispositions to guard the rear and flanks, and protect the settlers of Arizona from counter raids during our absence.

Major JAMES BIDDLE was left with five companies of the Third and Sixth Cavalry, at Silver Creek ; Captain G. E. OVERTON, Sixth Cavalry, with two companies of his regiment at old Camp Rucker ; Captain P. D. VROOM, Third Cavalry, with two companies at Calabasas. These troops, in conjunction with those to be moved by Captain RAFFERTY, Sixth Cavalry, from Fort Bowie, and Major NOLAN, Third Cavalry, from Fort Huachuca, would keep the country well patrolled.

To insure unity of action, Colonel E. A. CARR, Sixth Cavalry, was directed to assume general command of the force at any time such assumption might become necessary. Captain DOUGHERTY, First Infantry, commanding officer at Fort Apache, was directed to return to his post and carry out certain instructions with reference to the control of the White Mountain Apaches and other Agency Indians.

On the 1st of May I left San Bernardino Springs with the following force :

193 Apache Scouts commanded by Captain EMMET CRAWFORD, Third Cavalry, assisted by Lieutenants C. B. GATEWOOD, Sixth Cavalry, and J. O. MACKAY, Third Cavalry, and Captain A. R. CHAFFEE's company of the Sixth Cavalry, (42 enlisted men and two officers, Lieutenants FRANK WEST and W. W. FORSYTH,) Acting Assistant Surgeon GEO. ANDREWS, and Hospital Steward J. B. SWEENEY were ordered to report to Captain CHAFFEE. My personal staff consisted of Captain BOURKE, Third Cavalry, A. A. G., and Lieutenant FIEBEGGER, Corps of Engineers, A. A. D. C.

This force was the maximum which could be supplied by the use of every available pack animal in the Department, and the minimum with which I could hope to be successful in the undertaking upon which I had engaged. We had supplies, field rations, for sixty days, and one hundred and fifty rounds of ammunition to the man.

To reduce baggage, officers and men carried only such clothing and bedding as was absolutely necessary and instead of keeping

up their own messes, the officers shared the food of the packers.

Our pack-train was in excellent condition, and comprised over three hundred and fifty animals.

We moved south-east down the San Bernardino, the most northerly branch of the Yaqui, the largest river of western Mexico. For three days we did not see a human being. The whole country had been laid waste by the Apaches, and much land of value and formerly cultivated, had grown up into a jungle of cane and mesquite. We followed the trail which our guide "*Peaches*" assured me had been made by the hostile Chiricahuas. On the 6th of May, we passed by the hamlets of Bavispe, San Miguel and Basaraca, whose inhabitants welcomed us with exuberant joy. The authorities of Bavispe offered to come to our assistance with every man if needed, and also offered the services of four guides conversant with the foot-hills of the Sierra Madre. These offers I did not accept for want of transportation and supplies, and not believing that any guides could be equal to those whom we had been following.

The condition of these little Mexican communities was deplorable. Apache attacks were to be looked for at any moment. No man would venture away from the vicinity of his own hamlet. All the available force of the settlements was constantly on the alert watching for an enemy as cunning, as stealthy and blood-thirsty as so many Bengal tigers.

By the 8th of May we had entered the Sierra Madre, making the movement at night to avoid detection. The signs of the presence of hostile Chiricahuas became abundant. There were abandoned camps of fifteen, twenty, thirty and forty families; cattle, horses and ponies, living and dead.

The country was the roughest imaginable but well suited as a place of refuge for the Chiricahuas, who, unless taken by sudden surprise, could, from their points of vantage, withstand an army. We found at all times an abundance of the purest water and plenty of fuel, the mountains being covered with forests of pine and oak. We made our way cautiously, and with considerable difficulty, farther and farther into the recesses of the Sierra Madre, the trail becoming very precipitous. A number of mules were lost by slipping over precipices, but in each case the contents of their packs, when not too much damaged, were saved with much trouble.

On the 12th, the guide "*Peaches*" conducted us to the strong-

hold of the enemy, a formidable place, impregnable to attack, had such been dreamed of. To be explicit, the whole Sierra Madre is a natural fortress, and to drive the Chiricahuas from which, by any method other than those we employed, would have cost hundreds of lives. The enemy was not to be found in this particular fortress. The nature of the Apaches impels them to change their camps every few days, and thus avoid as much as possible anything like a surprise. Indeed, they never have anything like a permanent camp. Their temporary abodes are merely brush "wick-a-ups," which can be built in half an hour and destroyed in a few moments, so as to leave to the unpracticed eye hardly a trace of their presence.

The indications of the proximity of the enemy had now become so marked, that I concluded to keep the pack-trains back in the stronghold, guarded by CHAFFEE'S company, while the Apache scouts under CRAWFORD should scour the country in front and on our flanks.

They moved out on foot, carrying three days' rations on their backs, which were to last four days, each man having one hundred rounds of ammunition.

On the 15th of May the scouts discovered the camps of the Indians, which were afterwards found to be those of *Chato* and *Bonito*. In accordance with my careful instructions they would have been surrounded, but for the fact that some of the scouts incautiously fired upon a buck and squaw. The surprise was complete, and in the subsequent fight, which lasted several hours, the Indians were thoroughly beaten, the camps and their contents captured, and five half-grown girls and young boys taken prisoners. Nine dead Indians were found afterwards that had been killed in the fight, the extremely rugged nature of the country, the camp being situated half-way up the face of a precipitous mountain, gashed with ravines and arroyos, preventing any exact count being made without extreme danger from the Indians who might be wounded or hidden in the rocks, and who could have killed at their will without exposing themselves. There was considerable property stolen from Americans and Mexicans found in the camp, and about forty horses and mules.

Chato, it will be remembered, was the chief of the party which had recently raided so successfully through Arizona and New Mexico. From the captives much information was extracted. They said that only a few days before two messengers had been

sent to San Carlos to learn if they could re'turn to the agency. They were not badly off for food, having all the beeves, ponies and donkeys they could eat. The eldest of the captive girls said that if permitted she would go out to her people and have a delegation of them come in next day, as she was sure they wanted to make peace. Her manner satisfied me of her sincerity, and I allowed her to leave the camp.

After surprising and destroying *Chato's* camp, the situation presented certain very serious complications.

The Indians were so thoroughly alarmed that to attempt further pursuit would be fruitless. We could never hope to catch them in the rugged peaks, and the effort would surely cost the lives of many men, each rock being a fortress from behind which the Chiricahuas could fight to the death with their breech-loading guns. Two alternatives seemed presented ; we must either return, let the excitement quiet down, and then if permitted, steal back again and take the chances of another surprise, during which period the Chiricahuas would be continuing their depredations in Mexico and our own country ; or, we must accept their surrender.

To continue the narrative : The next day (May 17,) the Chiricahuas made a signal smoke, and six squaws came in.

With these I declined to talk, telling them that their representative men must come in if they desired to discuss the situation with me. Early on the 18th, *Chihuahua* entered my camp. He is not a chief, but is one of the most prominent men of his tribe, noted for intelligence and bravery. He said that the country to which we had penetrated, was looked upon as impregnable ; that the Mexican troops had never succeeded in getting into it, but had always been met and driven back with rocks as well as bullets, as soon as they had passed the foot-hills. He explained that the sense of security was so great that a large number of the men were then absent on raids in Sonora and Chihuahua. He told me where the different chiefs were raiding. He spoke bitterly of the Mexicans, but said the Chiricahuas would be glad to make peace ; that a large element in the band was getting tired of constant war, and would gladly settle down if allowed to do so. The reason given for their hatred of the Mexicans, was the treachery of which they had been guilty, the Chiricahuas alleging that they had made it a point to kill their women and children, and run away from their men. He further

said that on a recent occasion they had invited a delegation of Chiricahuas to visit one of their small towns near Casas Grandes, and while receiving them with outward manifestations of good will, had gotten them all under the influence of liquor, and then murdered a number and taken others prisoners.

It was also stated that with *Chato's* band was a small white boy captured in New Mexico, and corresponding so closely in description to *Charles McComas*, that I have no doubt it is he. He said that in consequence of the attack, the Chiricahuas had scattered to the mountains like so many quail, and that he would go back and gather them together and return; "but, said he, you have Apache soldiers with you, and my people will not respond to any smoke-signals, because they'll be sure your scouts have made them.

He went on to say, "that the captive boy was alive and in good spirits, but had gone off with the squaws, who had broken away from the camp upon discovering that our scouts were closing in upon them."

From that on, the Chiricahuas came in rapidly from all points of the compass—men, women and children. All the chiefs surrendered, gave themselves up.

Jeronimo, *Chato*, *Bonito*, *Loco*, *Natchez* (the son of *Cochise*), and one named *Ka-c-te-na*, who was not recognized as ever having been on the reservation. He said that he had never been on the reservation, and had always lived in the Sierra Madre.

The only Indian of prominence whom I did not meet was *Juh*. The Indians stated that there had been a tribal difference, and in consequence of bad blood, *Juh*, with one man and two or three squaws, had gone off into the country near the sources of the Yaqui River, some distance to the south.

These chiefs said that they wanted to make peace and return to the San Carlos reservation. I replied that they had been committing atrocities and depredations upon our people and the Mexicans, and that we had become tired of such a condition of affairs and intended to wipe them out; that I had not taken all this trouble for the purpose of making them prisoners; that they had been bad Indians, and that I was unwilling to return without punishing them as they deserved; that if they wanted a fight, they could have one any time they pleased. I told them that the Mexican troops were moving in from both sides, and it was only a matter of a few days until the last of them should be under the ground.

The best thing for them to do was to fight their way out if they thought they could do it. I kept them waiting for several days, and each day they became more and more importunate. *Jerónimo* and all the chiefs at last fairly begged me to be taken back to San Carlos. I replied that they were asking a great deal, that I had no power to put them on the reservation, and that I could not close my eyes to the atrocities of which they had been guilty; many of the Americans wanted their band rooted out, and that if I took them to San Carlos, no doubt a cry would be raised for their blood.

They had not only to face the Americans, but the Mexicans also, whose people they had murdered in so cruel a manner. They could not expect me to fight their battles or palliate their villainous conduct. *Jerónimo* and the others then said: "We give ourselves up, do with us as you please." They begged me to remain where I was for a few days longer, and explained what scarcely needed explanation, that the country was so fearfully rough, they could not gather up all their people at once, as they were so much scattered. To this I could not assent, the supply of rations for the command making such delay impossible. We had by this time 334 Chiricahua Indians and six Mexican captives to feed, and it was about as much as we could do to get back to our base without danger of starvation.

Jerónimo then said that if we would go along slowly towards the boundary, they could send their runners out to warn all those who had not yet come in, and they would try and overtake us at San Bernardino; or, if not successful in that, would move along the mountains until they reached San Carlos.

I assented to their sending after the remainder of their people, still hiding in the mountains, but refused to give them any written passes, telling them that if they could not catch up with the troops, they must take their chances of being killed by any Mexicans or Americans they might encounter.

In dealing with this question I could not lose sight of the fact that the Apache Indian represents generations of warfare and bloodshed. From his earliest infancy he has had to defend himself against enemies as cruel as the beast of the mountain and forest. His own nature differs but little from that of the wolf or coyote; in his brief moments of peace he constantly looks for attack or ambuscade, and in his almost constant warfare, no act of bloodshed is too cruel or unnatural.

It is, therefore, unjust to punish him for violations of a code of war which he has never learned, and which he can with difficulty understand. He has in almost all his combats with white men found that his women and children are the first to suffer, that neither age or sex are spared. In the surprise and attack of camps, women and children are killed in spite of every precaution; nor can this loss of life be prevented by any orders or foresight of the commander, any more than the shells fired into a beleaguered city can be prevented from killing innocent citizens, or burning private property. Nor does this fact surprise him, since it is in accordance with his own custom of fighting, but with this fact before us we can understand why he should be ignorant of the rules of civilized warfare. All that we can reasonably do is to keep him under such supervision that he cannot plan new outbreaks without running the risk of immediate detection; for these *new* acts of rascality punish him so severely that he will know we mean no nonsense.

As rapidly as possible make a distinction between those who mean to do good and those who secretly desire to remain as they are. Encourage the former and punish the latter. Let the Apache see that he has something to gain by proper behavior, and something to lose by not falling in with the new order of things. Vengeance is just as much to be deprecated as a silly sentimentalism.

To attempt to punish one or a dozen of the tribe for deeds of which all were equally guilty, would be a gross act of tyranny, while to attempt to punish *all* after they had surrendered in good faith, would be not only perfidious, but would involve us in a war with a small but desperate handful of men who would then fight with the recklessness of buccaneers under the black flag.

The Chief is no more guilty than every member of his band, since he has often less influence than individual members, being merely their mouthpiece, or spokesman. To punish individuals guilty of particular crimes could be done, were it possible to get evidence, but from the nature of things this is impossible.

The Chiricahuas of to-day are not a whit worse than were the rest of the Apaches—6000 in number—who were driven upon the reservation in 1873.

The task of managing that number was more formidable than that of looking after the Chiricahuas can ever be, but it was accomplished without any trouble except such as was stirred up by

greedy white men. Many of the Apache chiefs of that day were sullenly opposed to the new order of things.

They were ferreted out and broken of their power for mischief, while those who favored the ways of civilization were supported by every influence we could bring to bear. The Chiricahuas will present no difficulty whatever in the work of subjecting them to peaceful restraint and good discipline.

They were not deprived of their arms for the best of reasons. It is not advisable to let an Indian think that you are afraid of him even when fully armed. Show him that at his best he is powerless in your hands, he will become your best friend and cheerfully obey all that he may be instructed to do. It is unfair too, to deprive him of means of protecting his home and property against the white scoundrels, who, armed to the teeth, infest the border, and would consider nothing so worthy of their prowess, as the plunder of ponies or other property from unarmed Indians just beginning to plant or raise stock. So long as white horse and cattle thieves roam the country, so long should the Indians at San Carlos be allowed to carry arms for their own protection.

Further, it is not practicable to disarm Indians, their arms can never be taken from them unless they are taken prisoners, with their arms in their hands while engaged in fighting, by sudden surprise or disabling wounds. When Indians first surrender or come upon a reservation they anticipate being disarmed, and make their arrangements in advance, *cacheing* most of their best weapons and delivering up only the surplus and unserviceable. The disarming of Indians has in almost every instance on record been a farcical failure.

Let me cite the case of the Cheyennes who surrendered in 1873; they were searched with the greatest care when they were confined, and it was believed with fullest success, yet, when they broke out of prison at Fort Robinson, Neb., they appeared well armed with guns and knives and ammunition; doubtless their weapons had been taken apart and the pieces concealed by the women under their clothing, and this for weeks prior to the outbreak.

The warriors with *Jeronimo*—33 in number—had been on a raid through western Chihuahua, driving off cattle by the hundreds, killing men on the highways and capturing five Mexican women and one child, whom we took charge of and cared for as fully as our facilities would permit.

These women stated that they had been captured May 9, 1883, near the village of Carmen, not far from the Mexican Central R. R. They related a piteous tale of ill-treatment during the fourteen days of their captivity, scarcely alleviated by their knowledge that *Jeronimo* proposed holding them as hostages for the return of the Apache women and children who had fallen into the hands of the Mexicans at various times during the past year.

According to them, when their captors discovered that so large a body of Apache scouts had penetrated into the Sierra Madre, they became very much demoralized and abandoned them, together with some 300 head of cattle which they had gathered on their raid.

These cattle, a few days afterwards, were driven off by a detachment of Mexican troops who had started in pursuit from Casas Grandes, and the women struck our trail and followed it into our camp, in a nearly famished condition.

We did not meet any of the Mexican forces during our absence.

In crossing from the Sonora to the Chihuahua side of the Sierra Madre, we came across a placard bearing an inscription to the effect that the 11th Battalion had reached that point on the 21st of May, but on that date we were on the Sonora side, and farther to the south.

On the 10th of June, after a series of short marches, we rejoined the supply camp at Silver Creek, A. T., proceeding thence to the railroad and sending the Mexican captives to Tucson, where the Consul of Mexico, MR. M. V. LOMELLI, received them most kindly.

A map of the line of march, (Itinerary of the march) prepared by Lieutenant FIEBEGGER, Corps of Engineers; Acting A. D. C., is enclosed.

The conduct of officers and men who shared the hardships and dangers of the trip merits commendation.

I have issued a General Order thanking my scouts and their officers, and the guides of the expedition, for their services in furtherance of successful issue.

I desire in addition to mention my appreciation of the services rendered by Lieut. FRANK DE L. CARRINGTON, First Infantry, who acted as field quartermaster and commissary, at Willcox, and during the march to the boundary and at the camp at Silver Creek, and was called upon to perform much arduous and severe labor.

Upon my arrival at my supply camp at Silver Creek, the captured Chiricahuas were sent by easy marches to the San Carlos reservation in charge of Captain Crawford and his scouts, where they arrived June 23, 1833. They numbered 52 men and 273 women and children, present among the number the chiefs *Nana*, *Loco* and *Bonito*.

I may add, that the fact that the Indians left behind have not come in is a matter of no significance. Indians have no idea of the value of time. The members of *Loco's* band who came into San Carlos in May last were sixty-six days in making the journey, though they had forty or fifty miles less distance to travel than those whom I left in the Sierra Madre.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

GEORGE CROOK,

Brigadier General,

Commanding.

APPENDIX—"F."

*Memorandum of the result of a conference between the
Secretary of the Interior, Commissioner of Indian
Affairs, the Secretary of War and Brigadier
General Crook, July 7th, 1883.*

In view of the difficulties encountered in making satisfactory dispositions of the Apache Indians recently captured by General Crook, under existing methods of administration, it is determined by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Interior after consideration, that the Apache Indians recently captured by General Crook and all such as may be hereafter captured or may surrender themselves to him, shall be kept under the control of the War Department at such points on the San Carlos Reservation as may be determined by the War Department, (but not at the Agency without the consent of the Indian Agent,) to be fed and cared for by the War Department until further orders.

For the greater security of the people of Arizona, and to ensure peace, the War Department shall be entrusted with the entire police control of all the Indians on the San Carlos Reservation, and charged with the duty of keeping the peace on the Reservation, and preventing the Indians from leaving it, except with the

consent of General CROOK, or the officer who may be authorized to act under him.

The War Department shall protect the Indian Agent in the discharge of his duties as agent, which shall include the ordinary duties of an Indian Agent and remain as heretofore, except as to keeping the peace, administering justice, and punishing refractory Indians, all of which shall be done by the War Department, as above stated.

[Signed.] ROBERT T. LINCOLN,
Secretary of War.

[Signed.] H. M. TELLER,
Secretary of the Interior.

OFFICIAL COPY :

GEO. D. RUGGLES,
Acting Adjutant General.

A. G. O.

July 7th, 1883.

APPENDIX—"G."

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA,

WHIPPLE BARRACKS, PRESCOTT, *July 24, 1883.*

GENERAL ORDERS }
No. 13. }

I. In accordance with instructions received from the Secretary of War, the entire police control of the San Carlos Reservation is placed under charge of Captain EMMET CRAWFORD, Third Cavalry, who will carry out such provisions of the results of the conference between the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and General CROOK as may devolve upon the War Department.

He is charged with the duty of keeping the peace on the reservation, administering justice, punishing refractory Indians and preventing them from leaving the reservation, except by proper authority.

All the Indian prisoners recently captured by General CROOK and all such as may be hereafter captured, or may surrender themselves, are placed under the control of Captain CRAWFORD, to be cared for and fed by him.

He shall also protect the Indian Agent in the discharge of his legitimate duties on the reservation.

II. Second Lieutenant CHARLES B. GATEWOOD, Sixth Cavalry, will report to Captain CRAWFORD for duty, in connection with paragraph 1 of this order.

BY ORDER OF BRIGADIER GENERAL CROOK :

[Signed.] G. J. FIEBEGER,
Acting Aide-de-Camp.

APPENDIX—"H."

Conference between General Crook and 400 or 500 men of the Apache Tribe, at San Carlos Agency, A. T., October 15, 1882, Present : General Crook, Captain Bourke, A. D. C., Surgeon J. O. Skinner, U. S. A., Agent P. P. Wilcox, and Mr. Taggart, his clerk. Mr. C. E. Cooley and "Secriano" as Interpreters.

GENERAL CROOK:

I have not wished to speak to you before I had made an examination of your country; I have now done this and am ready to talk with you. I know there has been much trouble and discontent. The President sent me to fix it up. I found you told and believed one story and the whites another; I determined then to wipe out the past and have a commencement on a clean foundation. The deserters who were taken to Tucson have been released and none of you has been harmed for the past. Many of the whites will blame me for not punishing you. I have been your friend and now you must be my friend and sustain me in order that I may carry out successfully the policy I have instituted.

Gudi, Gunge, Sanchez and Shuttlepan :

We understand you.

GENERAL CROOK:

The whites are very numerous and scattered over an immense country. They do not know one Apache from another. If any harm is done by any Apache, these whites will blame me for it and say that some of the Apaches here have done it. If anything happens here to-day it is telegraphed over the country to-morrow and everybody knows it. It sounds much worse there than here: you know how that is; if you are away in the Sierra Blanca and hear any story, you know how you feel about it.

The Mexicans are complaining that our Indians are down there killing their people and those same Chiricahuas are liable to come back here at any time and commit depredations. I have just been down on the line and have had a hard disagreeable ride, doing your work, trying to get in those Indians, something you have got to do for yourselves. You can't have any rest here until those Chiricahuas are brought in, and *you* must bring them in. You must do this *at once*, I have been here now longer than I should have been. We shall forgive the Chiricahuas just the same as we have forgiven you. Every day complaints come in of Indians being off their Reservation, doing mischief here and there. All these stories do you harm and make the white men unfriendly to you. In order to stop this, I must know every Indian on the Reservation and I am going to have a brass tag with a number on it for each Indian, and a book with the Indian's name in it and the number of his tag and every Indian who can't produce such a tag shall be considered a hostile. Then I'll count you every day until all the Chiricahuas and others now out, have come in. All of you have been telling me that you want to go back to your own country to put in your crops. Get everything straightened out, do as we tell you, get all those Indians in and then, by next spring, you can go to your own homes to plant your crops.

You know how we did when I was here before. I have been among Indians all the time since, and you know that you can't deceive me as you have been deceiving the other people. You know I have always been your friend; had you done as I once told you to, you would to-day have been rich and happy.

Nodisky's Brother—Eskiltichiya:

We are not as well off now as we were when you were here before.

GENERAL CROOK:

I am doing all this for your good and because I want to advance your interests, I've always been your friend and worked for you and you ought to have sense enough to see that I am not doing this work for fun but to help you along.

Nodisky's Brother—Eskiltichiya:

The Chiricahuas never belonged to us. They are Mexican Indians and have always raised trouble.

GENERAL CROOK:

That makes no difference, *you* get the credit of it and you've

now got to go to work and bring them in here as I tell you. They are intermarried with you and you will get the blame of all the mischief they do. It depends upon yourselves, whether or not you shall go back to your own lands to plant: I have told you the conditions. In the spring, if everything goes aright, I will enlist scouts on a new principle. They'll live among their own people and control them just as we control ours.

Sanchez : (In a surly manner.)

You needn't to put that condition upon my grounds. You can talk for the Indians who are out.

GENERAL CROOK:

You'll be counted here every day until those Indians are brought back. If you or any others intend to give trouble, you'd better commence now. If there is any fighting to be done I want to have it now. If you think I don't mean what I say just try me and you'll soon find out. Another thing I am going to do is to break up the making of *tizwin*; there are a lot of idiots here who let *Eskiminzin* and other Indians make money out of them by selling them *tizwin*, instead of keeping their money as I told them. *Eskiminzin* has become rich selling you *tizwin*. You must stop running away from the reservation. All of you must have passes; unless you are soldiers you must get them from the Agent.

Sanchez :

Many of us have not been able to get passes when we asked for them.

GENERAL CROOK:

Then you must stay within the Reservation. I have told you what I intended doing and if you don't understand me, ask me.

Sanchez :

We understand you and are all sorry because we want to be able to go out to get buckskin for our moccasins, etc.

GENERAL CROOK:

This will not last long, if you do just as I tell you. You've got to help me in this business which is more for your good than my own. If you don't want me to remain here, and don't help me, I can go away and let some of the other Commanders return to take charge of you.

Yaqui :

The Chiricahuas hate us just as much as they do the white men: have killed or stolen our stock and maltreated us.

GENERAL CROOK:

That's all nonsense. You're married among them and they among you and I want you to send out for them. Let me know at once what you are going to do—as it's no fun for me to stay here.

Nodisky's Brother—Eskiltchiya :

Give us the favor of sufficient time to find out all among us who have relatives among the Chiricahuas, so we can send out to them.

GENERAL CROOK:

All right, if you can get them in, in a few days, I'll wait here to talk with them. The Mexicans are killing the Chiricahuas now and the Chiricahuas will be glad to get back here and behave themselves, and be kindly treated. You get them in here and I'll attend to them if they don't behave; we can manage them here; and if they do behave, I will be kind to them.

APPENDIX—"I."

SAN CARLOS, A. T.,

August 20, 1883.

General George Crook,

Commanding Department of Arizona,

Whipple Barracks, Arizona.

SIR:

In compliance with your request of August 9th 1883, I have the honor to report that I was assigned to duty at San Carlos Agency, A. T., September 28th 1882, for the purpose of organizing and managing the Indian scouts to be maintained here, and to have entire police control of the reservation. At the time of my assignment I noticed among the Indians a feeling of distrust and uneasiness towards the Agency employes, and the Military stationed here; this I think was due to the fact that they had not been properly treated and managed by those in authority who preceded us. Very little was said by them at first until they could observe for themselves how affairs were being conducted. After they had learned that their interests were being looked after, this feeling died away, and they became more cheerful and contented.

During almost a year that I have been here I have noticed a marked change for the better among them. The causes which

have brought about this change, I think are due to kind treatment, protecting them in their rights and looking after their welfare generally. Their rations have been fairly and honestly dealt out to them, they have been assisted and encouraged to farm, to raise stock, etc., so as to be able to have something for themselves in the future.

The feeling among the different tribes towards each other is all that can be desired, they act in a friendly manner towards each other; and while they live apart in bands, they greet each other kindly when they come together. There is no distinction made in this respect between the Chiricahuas lately brought here from Mexico, and those who have been living on the reservation since it was established.

The Indians have all been peaceful, respectful and obedient. There have been very few cases of misconduct, and these have been promptly reported and punished. I believe they conduct themselves as well as the same number of civilized people would living under the same circumstances.

The increase of cultivation this year over last I believe has been ten-fold. I visited the reservation twice last year during the growing season and I saw very little land under cultivation. This year they have done very well, better than I expected they would do. They have had two draw-backs however to contend against, which should be overcome if possible during the coming year, one was the scarcity of seed for planting, and the other the poor structure of their dams in the Gila River for irrigation. The latter I think can easily be overcome the coming year by a little labor on their part, and some good competent person to superintend the work for them. The seed most needed and which should be furnished as early as possible is *wheat, beans, potatoes*, and new varieties of *corn, water-melon* and *cantelope*. They should also be furnished with a few more farming implements. If they be furnished with seed and the farming implements required, and their dams improved, I don't believe it will be necessary to feed them longer than next fall, or until such time the coming year as they will be able to gather their crops.

One hundred and seventy-nine White Mountain and San Carlos Indians with their families were transferred from here to Cibicu Cañon, and Carrizo Creeks in the vicinity of Fort Apache on the reservation last spring, where they have raised crops this

year. These Indians will require nothing from the Government after they gather their crops.

I have had a room set apart for the purpose of storing Indian seed for next year's plant. So far twenty Indians have stored barley and wheat for seed, and I think many of them will avail themselves of its use.

Each parcel of seed as it is turned in is marked with the name of the Indian's band, letter and tag number, so as to avoid mistakes being made in the spring when they come to claim it. I encourage them as much as possible to live on their farms and protect and care for their own seed and farming implements.

The Indians during the year have raised a large amount of barley which they have disposed of, the largest part of it being sold to the Government for the use of the public animals in the service here. Some has been sold to the Indian Trader and quite an amount to freighters passing through between Globe and Willecox. Their corn crop is large; I think after reserving what will be needed for their own consumption, and seed for next year, they will have some for sale. The only market they have for their produce is from freighters, the trader and the Q. M. Department here.

They are being encouraged to store their corn away and use it for meal; for this purpose there should be a grist mill here and one at Fort Apache. In addition to what they have raised, and the crops not yet matured on the ground they have under cultivation, they have cut and turned in during the year to the Q. M. Department and at the agency about four hundred tons of hay cut with knives, and three hundred cords of wood, for which they have been paid a liberal price.

I attach herewith a statement showing as near as can be estimated the amount of produce raised during the year.

This includes San Carlos, Fort Apache, San Pedro and Arivapa.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

[Signed.]

EMMET CRAWFORD,

Captain Third Cavalry,
Commanding.

Statement showing the amount of produce raised by the

Apache Indians on the White Mountain Indian Reservation during the year 1883:

2,625,000 lbs. of Corn,	200,000 lbs. of Barley,
180,000 lbs. of Beans,	100,000 Pumpkins,
135,000 lbs. of Potatoes,	20,000 Water-melons,
12,600 lbs. of Wheat,	10,000 Musk-melons,
10,000 Cantelopes.	

Small patches of cabbage, onions, cucumbers and lettuce have been raised.





